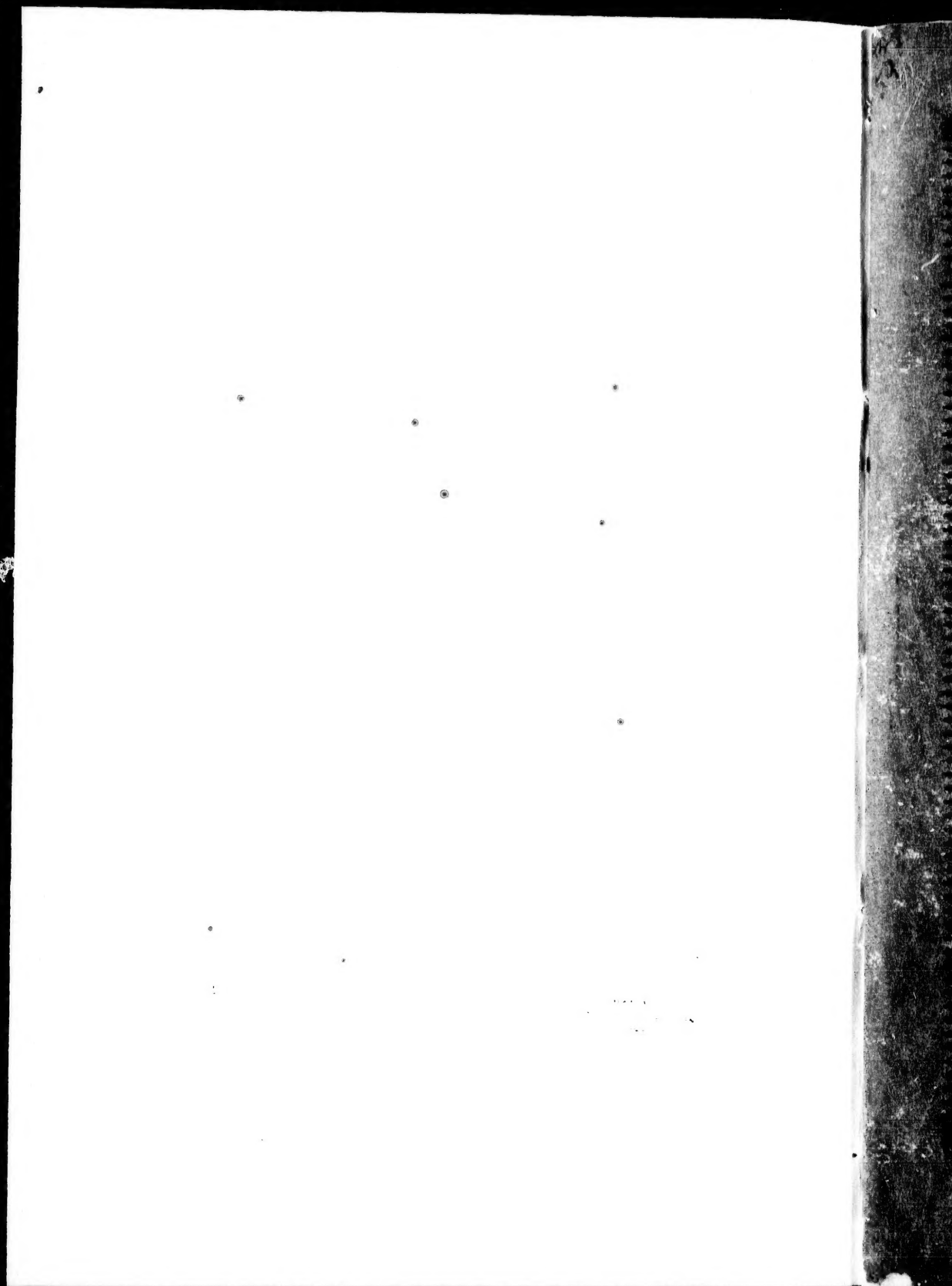




A. E. Morgan

1862

**COUNTER
MANIFESTO**

TO THE

ANNEXATIONISTS

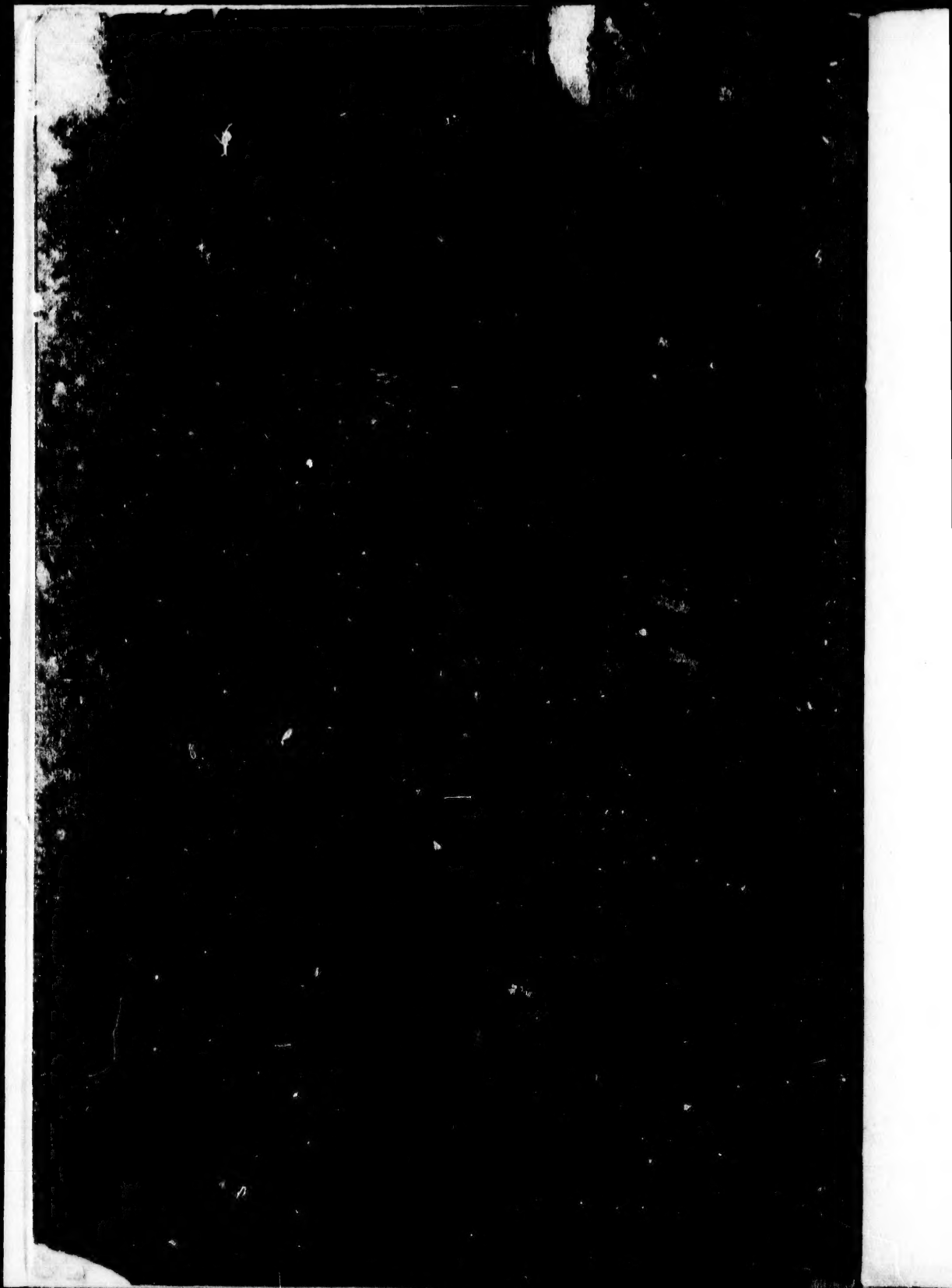
OF

MONTREAL.

NIAGARA.

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1849.



COUNTER MANIFESTO

TO THE ANNEXATIONISTS OF MONTREAL.

ANNEXATIONISTS OF MONTREAL :

Your long threatened manifesto is at last issued to the people of Canada ; and following your example (in this only) I take the liberty of addressing you with boldness equal to your own ; and with God's help and a better cause, I trust to arraign you before my judging countrymen, to prove your falsehood, malignancy and treachery, and convict you before heaven and earth, as the most reckless, causeless, unreasoning and selfish batch of revolutionists, that ever disgraced the calendar of political crime.

You ask me who I am, that presumes to question the equity of your designs or the justness of your statements ; I answer, an humble Canadian, emphatically one of the people—with no higher wish than to labor peaceably and honestly for my bread ; and no greater delight than to love my country, and rejoice over her prosperity. As for *you*, we know to our shame and disgrace among all civilized people who you are ; a wretched faction, who would sink the Canadian name into the abyss of infamy and damnation were you permitted to work out your designs.

Not since the rebellion of Korah, Abiram and their two hundred and fifty adherents (the antitypes of you both in number and wickedness,) has the world beheld a peaceable and happy community threatened with civil war, for redress of grievances so purely imaginary, or for the acquisition of benefits, so clearly inferior to those already in possession. You have set aside the commands of God, and in their place installed the gra-

ven image of Annexation—and with incantations and lying sorceries like the priests of Baal, you dance round your idol in all the ecstasy of political madness, and call on us to fall down and worship your pseudo God. But like the faithful men of Israel we laugh at you with scorn and derision,—we will hew your idol in pieces, and burn its priests in the fire that consumes it.

As the traveller beholds the mirage of the desert, and fancies he sees at a distance, green fields and bright waters, which as he approaches, change into the dreary realities of rock and sand—so shall we discover the equally false and delusive pictures of your *Californian* manifesto.

In a document of such ambitious pretences, nothing amazes one more than the low peddling and mercenary principle that pervades it throughout ; not a single allusion to the moral character, the time-honored institutions and God-directed destiny of our country and empire, is to be found in it ; but a mean party summing up of a one sided shop keepers account, where all the entries are false, lies the most palpable, assertions the most foolish, and conclusions the most inconsequential, lame and impotent, make up the tissue of as bedlam a production, as the world ever laughed at. Well may your association offer premiums for treatises to explain your designs, and invent your grievances ; when your combined wits can produce nothing better than the superannuated drivelling, which you venture to foist upon the world as the sentiments of Canada. An honorable mind is really ashamed to descend from the high moral and political principles on which it would defend its sovereign and country, to meet antagonists, who understand no reason save those based on mere matters of pelf. But I am thankful that it is in my power to lay aside the nobler weapons of moral argument, and belabor you, to your content, with the common cudgel that best befits your deserts and understanding. And first I would observe that your manifesto is built on such obviously false foundations that argument is most ridiculous on the subject ; the very key-stone of your whole fabric consists of one huge, palpable and unmitigated lie. You assert that the province is in a state of “ ruin and rapid decay,” “ our civil corporations, banks &c, greatly depreciated—mercantile and agricultural business unprosperous—canals unused, and capital all dissipated,” with more of “ horrible and awful,” than I have patience to enumerate.

What shall we say in Western Canada at least, to such an unblushing falsehood ?—the very father of lies himself must have become incarnate in Montreal, and the very drivellings of

idiocy, have possessed her people, if they really circulate such *bogus* among themselves for sterling coin.

Truly if those political shop-keepers have been no honester in their dealings, than they are in their statements, we need not wonder at *their* embarrassments. But when they saddle the free trade policy of England with the sole blame of all this imaginary distress, we can easily see that its existence and cause, are alike unfounded and maliciously imputed. That there is great embarrassment in Montreal, is no matter of doubt ; but it is confined nearly to Montreal alone, and what is the real and obvious truth regarding her. While all must confess that the political state of the city since last winter has deeply aggravated the derangement of commercial affairs—we shall find a simple explanation of her retrograde position from causes quite independent. of either free trade policy, riots, or burnings.

Montreal until the last two or three years, was always the sole entrepot of Canadian trade, whether for imports or exports. Improved public works in the states, our own unwise abolition of differential duties, and the operation of the American draw-back law, have carried by far the greater part of Upper Canada business to New York and Boston. While the uninterrupted navigation of the St. Lawrence is giving her merely a passing view of the loads of freight which used to be landed on her wharves. The consequence is that Montreal is left nearly to her own resources ; and instead of being the great port of a country, she is dwindling into the mere market town of a district. This fact alone unalluded to, by the mendacious concocters of the manifesto, though well known to them, will account for at least three fifths of the diminution of her former trade,—let her riots and her burnings, answer for the rest. But Montreal is no criterion of the Province, either politically, socially or morally—God forbid. But since her manifesto only suits her own atmosphere, let us apply the measuring-rod of Annexation to her warehouses and note the result.

Is it not plain that in case of an incorporation with the States, that almost the entire trade of Western Canada would be drawn to New York ? The abolition of customs and navigation laws, the removal of that patriotism which induces many to cling to our own side in their dealings ; and the abrogation of opposing jurisdictions ; would cement an intercourse, against which Montreal would contend in vain. New York merchants understand this, though Montreal do not ; or think you they would subscribe their thousands, to bribe, buy, and influence needy traitors if they were not well aware that their villanous outlay would return to their hands with mighty interest ? And what would Montreal

do then ? the charges she now so clamorously makes against the Mother country, she would then make against New York, and the states in general. She would begin a fierce struggle for her existence even, and while striving to draw the trade of the west down the St. Lawrence, she would curse God and herself, that she ever abandoned the empire, to let remorseless rivals drain off that commerce which had she but been faithful to her allegiance a year or two longer, might have again become hers with tenfold increase. It is American competition already commenced, which is ruining Montreal. The incidental withdrawal of protection in Britain, no doubt aggravated the difficulty. But this alone without other concurring causes would have been felt but for a season, and its embarrassments soon surmounted by the elastic energy and industry of a country like ours ; and in fact the crisis is already past, in proof of which let us leave Montreal and her peculiar position out of view, and note what is the present condition of Western Canada. While I admit that a few small places, from local circumstances, do not improve as fast as could be desired ; what do we find to be the general result ? The most recent index we have on this subject are the addresses from men of all parties, presented to the Governor General, on his late tour, occasions on which men are never backward to complain regarding their pecuniary interests. And what do they say about the " ruinous condition " of the Province ; many of them make no allusion whatever to the subject ; none I believe utter a complaint. Toronto congratulates His Excellency, that the crisis is over ; and hails the present abundant harvest, as the final step which is to raise her to her old level of prosperity. Hamilton, actually boasts of her thriving condition ; and assures us, that she has felt nothing at all of the late derangements of commerce ; while many of the rural addresses, express their gratification at the prosperous, happy and contented, condition of the people at large. Such are the declarations Western Canada makes at the present moment. Examine more narrowly, and you will not be surprised at such sentiments. Count up our census for the last ten years ; has population in any part of the world increased at an equal ratio ? Open the Assessment rolls of our older districts. Not a State in the American Union can show a more rapid increase, in Agricultural wealth, in new and elegant dwellings, in carriages and horses of pleasure, in cattle sheep and improved implements of husbandry ; in short everything that can show a community growing rich and prosperous. Go into the new districts which ten years ago were dense forests ; we find them cleared and under vigorous cultivation, and altho' the fields are yet rough with stumps, and the log house still shel-

ters the hardy emigrant ; yet plenty, content and most cheerful hopes of the future, animate every part of the community. Accursed by God and man be the hand that would throw the fire-brand of Annexation among such a people ! Go next and examine our Schools. A few years ago, generally neglected, they are now but little inferior to the vaunted institutions of Massachusetts and Connecticut ; fully equal to those of New York and Ohio ; and superior to what any other part of the States can show—while under the Superintendence of a man, whose genius and industry, are admired both in Europe and America, I doubt not, that a few more years will place them on an equality with any in the world. Go next into our Mills, Factories, Foundries, Tanneries and Mechanic shops of every description, and blush with eternal shame, at your lying manifesto, which affirms that we have no manufactures, and cannot have any until we annex our Country to the States and obtain their high tariff to protect and foster them, but I shall recur to this by and by.

Inspect next our public works, and point out if you can a line of more magnificent and substantial inland navigation on the whole continent of America, than is presented by our noble canals ; one more judiciously planned, or that presents surer prospects of immediate prosperity. You dare not allude to them in your cowardly address, but whine about railroads, and draw comparisons with the States to our disadvantage. But we are only beginning to feel the want of railroads. As the country settles back from the navigation, they will be made at the right time no fear.

Travel then over our macadamized and plank roads, superior in miles of length according to our territory, to any on the continent ; and find your way into the courts of Justice and examine our system of Law and Jurisprudence, enquire into the character and ability of our Judges ; and I challenge comparison, not only with the United States, but with any country in the world.

As regards the Constitution and Government of Canada, its religious institutions, and moral character, these are subjects not named in your address, as being far above your narrow minds and grovelling propensities. Enough for us to know that annexation far from improving us in these respects, would speedily sink us to the same low level of national and individual morality, which is making the American name a reproach throughout the world. Were there nothing else to object to in the Republic, repudiation and slavery are an indellible infamy and disgrace.

But what is a just conclusion from all the facts just enumerated ? plainly, that our Province is in a condition of real prosperity,

which leaves her nothing to envy in our boasting neighbors, and it is a base and malicious falsehood in any man to assert the contrary. Your next complaint is of the reference of our affairs to England. As to myself, I rejoice that my Sovereign should exercise that wise and impartial superintendence over our affairs in which consists the virtue and excellence of monarchical government. But as to the ground of your complaint, no one knows better than you that our present difficulties have arisen among ourselves through the operation of Responsible Government, and from England's desire that we should manage our own affairs with as little reference to her as possible, consistent with our duty, as good subjects. And this indulgent desire on her part, you make the ground of the most flagrant and wicked statement in your whole address. That is, that the government of Britain, her statesmen and people, are resolved to force independence upon us, to get rid of the trouble and expense of keeping us. It is an insult to common sense to discuss lies so gross and palpable. If the British Government by any word or deed, ever insinuated such a design, you might be excused ; if political history since the beginning of the world, ever records such a thing, as a great country voluntarily stripping herself of a third of her richest possessions, and quietly descending from the foremost into the second rank among nations, you might find believers : but when all foresee, that the abdication of her authority, would be but to bestow it upon her most jealous rival, a rival, which regards her with the most unceasing malignant, and irreconcilable hatred—one who watches with diabolical eagerness, every moment of her difficulties, to press exaggerated claims, with all the insult that malice can invent and vituperation utter ; and whose chief desire in annexing our province, is to obtain the strength and courage through our aid, to begin that war of extermination against our kind old mother country, which is, the deep and pervading aspiration of a great portion of the American people ; I say when such are to be the results of England's giving up her provinces, can any one believe that she entertains such a thought for a moment ? no one can, or will. And in fact your whole assertion on this point, is based merely on the chance remarks of a few babbling newspapers ; but small foundation or no foundation at all, serve equally well for lies like yours.

As to the summary and flippant manner, in which you dispose of the questions of "protection," "union of the provinces," "independence," "reciprocity" of course, since, you have embarked in the piratical galley of annexation ; they need not be discussed between us, only this I will remark, for it is most characteristic of your whole proceedings, that one cannot

read your comment on the subject of protection in the British market without being convinced at once, of the weakness and selfishness of your proceedings. In spite of all your pretended grievances, and ambitious aspirations you more than intimate, that if Britain would but restore your old monopoly of protection, and secure it to you for a term of years, that your loyalty *might* be resuscitated, at least your obedience to her government might be relied on. Ah, no doubt; if England would but bribe higher than the States, you would be as ready to turn your coats and repudiate annexation as you are now to advocate it.

The intense selfishness of your nature, peeps out of that paragraph, like a sneaking rat out of his hole. But know, neither the people of England, nor the people of Canada will trust you any longer; your meanness will make them regard you with contempt as well as indignation, and if Britain should return to her good old policy, and restore us our former protection, it will not be out of regard to your threats nor your fawning. Do you, the dregs of the Empire, think to extort, from the fears of England, that which you render yourselves unworthy to receive from her justice? But yours is no monomania, you are mad in all things alike.

I will here allude to one remarkable feature of your manifesto; that although the names of many *ci-devant* Tories are appended to it, not a word is said regarding the Indemnity Bill, the pretended prime mover of all this sedition. Why is this omission? is it because the Imperial Government, by its declarations, have extracted the sting that wounded your loyal feelings: and our own administration, by its instructions, to the commissioners, have given the conservatives a virtual triumph in the final result of that measure, that you do not allude to it? or, is it, that you have been acting a simulated part from the beginning, and have really considered that the Reform interpretations of it were right, and yours false; although you have put fire to the halls of legislation, and insulted your Queen in her Representative? The latter supposition is most probable; for what do we now behold? you are clasping hands with the very men, whose oppression drives you to rebellion; but 'tis no wonder; 'tis in character with the rest of your proceedings—

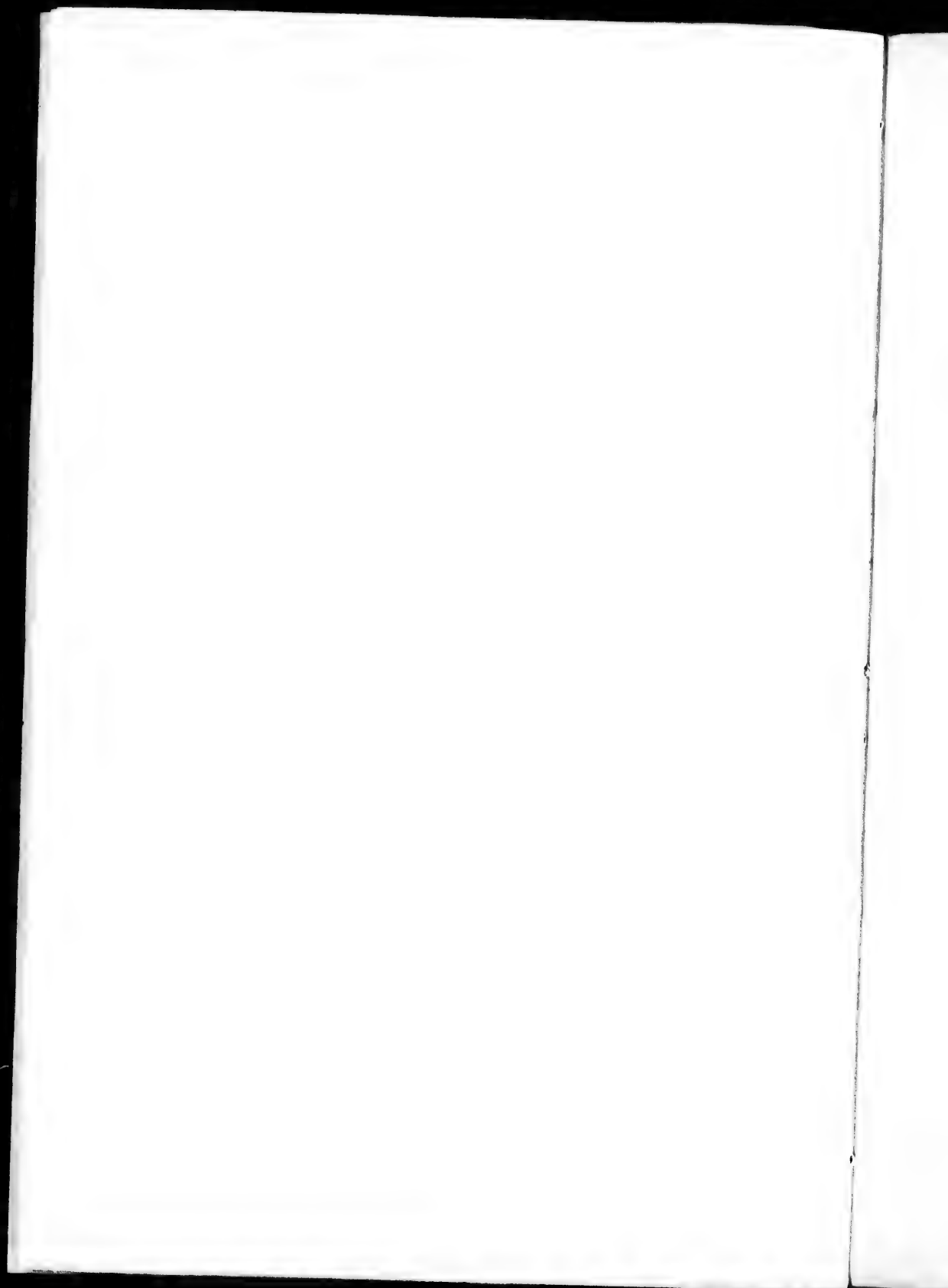
———“ Men disagree
But devils with devils damned, firm concord hold.”

And although you fight like dogs for your individual bones, yet when a grand rush is to be made, at the noblest game, when religion, gratitude, liberty and nationality, are to be hunted out

of our country—as in the day, when the Saviour of the world was to be crucified ; “ *Pilate and Herod are made friends.*”

But I proceed at once to your promises, false and delusive as those with which Satan tempts depraved man, your gilded bait, with which you flatter yourselves to hook the simplicity of poor Canadians.—We shall find your golden dreams of prosperity are but the California mania with a different object ; but equally false and ruinous. What are the advantages you so ostentatiously parade before our eyes, to be obtained by annexation ! You say it will equalize the value of real estate,—so it would, but do you take us for fools ! real estate is now worth more on an average, in Canada, than in the States, and I aver and can prove it that farming property is held at higher rates with us, than land similarly eligible, in New York. As for town lots, the same may be truly asserted. To be sure, we have backward localities, such as are found there, and all over ; but go to Toronto, Hamilton, or St. Catharines, and compare the price of property, with like towns in the United States, and you will learn, that the “equalization of the value of real estate” would turn out sadly to our disadvantage.

You aver, that annexation would give us stability and raise our credit,—if acting the part of the most flagrant, moral and political dishonesty, would raise our credit, you may be right.—If joining partnership with repudiation, and corporate and state fraud, would give confidence to capitalists abroad, your case is proved. But what is the truth ? Canadian credit at this moment, poor as it may be, is better than American credit ; a loan has just been concluded, on terms that neither Pennsylvania nor Ohio could have obtained. And if as you say, (rather simply by the by, as it is very inconsistent with your assertions about our ruinous condition,) “Canada can give better security,” than the States can common sense believe that our credit is poorer than theirs ? What do capitalists require but security ? and in proportion to their security is their confidence, and rates of interest. And you dare to prate about credit, you, the destroyers of all credit and of all security ! you who have struck the most deadly blow at the character of the Province and at the confidence of capitalists in our stability, which has ever been made ! You take the wheels off the chariot of the state, and then denounce it, because it does not win the race. You talk of American capital, and enterprise ; America has not capital enough for her own works, but is compelled to beg round Europe, for funds, which in too many instances are never repaid. And what is American enterprise ? a fever fit of overtrading and speculation, with paroxysms of periodical ruin, every four or five



years ; infinitely inferior in every light to the steady, prudent and economical character of Canadian business ; is this the enterprize you long to imitate ! no doubt : the loose overreaching, and unscrupulous principles of a yankee trader are wonderfully adapted to your genius ; and the deep science of Yankee bankruptcy, will form an admirable finish to your shop-keeping education.

You proclaim again, that we have no manufactures. Have you really ever been from behind the counter in your lives ? has your attention been so riveted to the measuring of tape, and the weighing of "tea and sugar," that you have never read an almanac even : though to be sure the library destroyers could not have had any regard for literature of a higher grade ? We have manufactures, numerous, varied, and thriving, which have sprung into existence, under the protection of judicious tariffs ; and yield comfortable livelihoods to thousands of families throughout the land. What will become of them under annexation ? and against whom is protection most necessary, to encourage and foster them ? It is not by a "high tariff" against England that they will be saved ; for England hardly competes at all with the plain domestic fabrics of our artizans ; but it is American competition we have to fear ; manufacturing precisely the same articles as we do, in greater abundance, and at cheaper rates, by means of their larger establishments and low wages ; abolish our protection and they will overwhelm us, under the flood of their productions, and carry bankruptcy and ruin into every manufacturing business in Canada.

Why have not Ohio and Illinois, prosperous manufactures ? Because they cannot compete with New England and N. York. Why are the Americans themselves so afraid of British competition, and protect themselves against it with high tariffs ? clearly, for the same reasons, which ought to determine us, to protect our interests against the Americans.

Miserable schemers of Montreal ! while you are dreaming of turning the French *habitans* into a nation of cotton-spinners, American manufacturers will suck the very life out of your country, and leave you to ruminate at leisure, on the weeds and garbage of republican fraternity. You think Annexation will bring manufacturing capitalists into the Province ; it will take them out of it. Under our present system, many do come in, and carry their business on here in order to avoid the duties. Take off the duties, and they will return home, where they can manufacture cheaper, and send us their goods, instead of their establishments.

Touching our agriculture, you also flatter us with the assurance, that annexation will permanently benefit its interests, by raising the value of our products to a par with that of the States. Now without inquiring, what moral connection there is between allegiance and the price of wheat, I will sift your argument as it stands, and see whether it does not contain more *chaff* than grain. The fact is admitted, that prices of produce range at the present time, at higher rates in American markets than in ours. Let us ask two questions ; from what does this discrepancy arise ? is it likely to be a permanent state of things ? We can only judge of the future by the past ; and taking the past for our criterion, we learn that until a couple of years ago, Canadian produce always commanded higher rates than American, so much so, that our farmers demanded and obtained a pretty heavy protection against the latter : and we find that the preponderance now into the other scale is quite a recent occurrence, and may be as transitory as it is unusual. It has arisen, unquestionably from the sudden opening of the British ports to the free admission of foreign grain, assisted greatly by the coincident famine in Ireland ; these were events, for which the United States were not prepared with much extra supply. But like ourselves being needy of money, they laid hold of the unexpected privilege, with such greediness, that their exportations, totally drained their own markets, and glutted the British, to such a degree, that their produce actually sold in Liverpool, at one time, for less than it was selling in New York. The consequence was, they experienced a scarcity at home ; prices rose high in 1847-1848, and overtopped those of Canada, whose exports, having long been admitted at nominal duties, received no impulse from free trade, her production had long been regulated on that basis ; and finding no increasing demand, at the moment when other countries took a sudden spring, she fell somewhat into the shade. But during the spring and summer of this year, things have been working back to their old standard and proportion ; and by this time Canadian farmers might have been happy in the thought, not, that they were getting remunerating prices (for that they have always done) ; but that they were getting more than the American farmers ; and Montreal loyalty might have been saved, were it not that excessive bad harvests in the Western states, and very good ones in Canada, happen still to keep up the disproportion, and cause us to say ; that the United States, with but half as good a crop as we have, a great deal richer, if it fetches a few pence more per bushel. But plenteous harvests in the States will quite reverse this order of things ; the free-trade impulse is fast passing away among them ; new supplies are being created to meet

new demands ; and there is no reasonable doubt, that we shall soon see the two countries, much on an equality in this matter ; or if there be a difference, it will again return in our favour, as of old : when annexation will have to dispense with its best crutch, and limp along its thorny path like some poor sneaking rogue, who is spurned and cuffed from door to door.

But your address goes on to promise, that the Americans will make railways and similar improvements for us ; 'tis truly laughable—why don't they make them for their States which as yet they have not done ? I will tell you ; they do as we should do : follow the old adage that "charity begins at home," and they will leave us to make railways for ourselves, if we want them ; the same as they do to their own different states : or if they should take up a little stock in our works, it will be only to serve their own ends, not ours. And after all, if we build railroads, we shall have to go to England for the money ; but when we shall have broken up her empire, she might be neither in a condition nor temper to assist us : but as I said before, if we continue quiet and industrious, railroads will come in their good time, no fear.

Then our shipping interests would flourish beyond all precedent under annexation—you aver : Strange infatuation ! The American shipping and steamboat business on the lakes is at this moment nearly in a state of bankruptcy from over competition. And where they have such a surplus of idle vessels, would their free admission into our trade benefit Canadian ship-owners ? let them answer the question. But O ! short sighted as the poor savages of the forest, you are bartering away mines of unopened gold, for a few paltry trinkets ; and like a foolish spendthrift devouring the fruits of past and the seed of all future harvests in one mad debauch. Reflect a moment, merchants of Montreal, the great line of communication between the lakes and the ocean, is just about perfected, and you are going to give it away ! its navigation is yet in your own hands, and you pray to be ruined by American competition ! when if you are only true to your best interests, and lean confidently on the rock of British connexion, the carrying trade of half America will be yours, unshared and uncompleted.

Is not this a vision of possible and probable greatness worth waiting for a few brief years ? Canada, I know will wait for it, though Montreal despise the boon of providence ; she, with the temper of him who would rather

"Rule in hell than serve in Heaven,"

spits at our national covenant, and thwarts the most benign purposes of the Almighty.

Your manifesto also recommends the "simple and economical" system of American government to our adoption, as far superior to our "expensive and cumbersome" forms. Without entering far on this question, inasmuch as it is merely incidentally alluded to in your address, I will ask you however, in what consists the simplicity of American government? Mr. Webster, as good an authority as any in Montreal, describes it, as the most intricate and complicated system in the world. While with respect to its economy "least said would be soonest mended," for your argument. Of all governments in the world, I hesitate not to say, the American is most costly, according to the extent of its establishments; its officials the most speculating and jobbing; and its whole policy the most intensely cold and selfish. The federal government absorbs yearly, from thirty to forty millions of dollars, its separate state establishments a total amount far exceeding this. Look at their tariff; look at their public lands, their state and county taxes; get their statistics, and never more betray your ignorance in prating about American economy. But here is a fact worth remembering; though of course you dare not allude to it in your address: Canada has ever been and is still the lightest taxed country in the world; and yet, she can show results equal to the most expensive, her government is as effective and her institutions as liberal and useful.

The state and county taxes of New York, are treble the amount of ours. The federal tariff on an average is double what we impose; these are boons, annexation will grant us; but further, with more to pay, we should have less to pay with, our revenue and public lands, would be seized by the federal government; it would burthen us with the expense of armies, navies, diplomacies and wars, and we should be compelled to resort to direct taxes, to support our government, and pay off our provincial debt; while yankee trickery and cozenage, would at the same time drain us as dry as hay, and as poor as Michigan.

But to gild all, you tempt us with the ambitious hopes of sharing the offices and emoluments of the republic, on terms of perfect equality; perhaps *you might*, for there, 'tis the worst demagogues and not the best citizens that divide the spoils of government. Go amongst the great Whig party in the States, and you will find thousands of the most virtuous class of Americans, groaning under the invincible domination of a tyrannical and low bred democracy, and who would be but too happy to find protection, under a strong free government like that of England. But your ambitious longing after the emoluments of office, makes one

laugh ; is there a solitary name attached to your manifesto, which could hope, by any chance, to be coupled with an office at Washington ? its absurdity is its own answer. Moreover so far from our position being one of " simple obedience " to Britain, it is quite the contrary. Not any state in the confederation, possesses a tithe of the power of free action, which Canada enjoys ; illustration is needless on this point. And with regard to our dependence on the crown ; our happiness, safety and prosperity have resulted from it. But while the nature of things, and the necessity of the case, have modelled so far the form of our connexion with the empire, to a secondary position, the time is perhaps now ripe, for consolidating and perfecting those relations. A thousandth part of the exertions necessary to effect annexation, will open to our people, the free and equal *entree* to the very sanctuary of British power and authority. The signs of the times already prognosticate, that the voice of represented Canada will ere long resound in the Imperial Parliament, and the most honorable offices, the richest emoluments, and the noblest dignities in the universe, be offered to the free competition of our people. It is this subject which now deeply engrosses the thoughts of British Statesmen : the consolidation of the empire, not its dissolution. And when that period arrives,—and it approaches with the step of a giant—it may truly be said of our country—" Now are they glad, because they are at rest ; and God bringeth them into the haven, where they would be."

While the unhappy States, cloven asunder by the hatchet of slavery, and enduring all the agonies of civil dissention and anarchy, will crave annexation to us, to escape those awful calamities, which sooner or later, the retribution of God, brings upon all nations which persist in perpetuating the bondage of his creatures.

And yet, you presume to talk of securing peace, by allying us to the elements of discord—annex us to-morrow—and the Union will be dissolved the day after ; and Canada instead of finding tranquility, will be dragged into centuries perhaps of fraternal discord and war. Annexation ! its impossibility will arise as much from the Americans themselves as from us. Why did the Reciprocity-bill fail in congress ? Because of the intense jealousy of the South, that it was a preliminary to the admission of Canada into the Union. And think you, if they rejected a simple measure like that—that they would stultify themselves by sanctioning the very object of their fear ? so much for your prophecies on peace. As for your remarks about Canada's being made the scene of military operations, they are too mean and cowardly for reply.

We glory in the gallant deeds of our fathers and dwell with delight on the tales of Detroit and Lundy's Lane ; it gives us a character among nations, and inspires us with courage and energy to fulfil all our duties vigourosly as men and citizens. What has been done before, we shall be proud to do again ; and never be guilty of the baseness of basking in the sunshine of the empire, and forsaking it in the storm. The ægis of England has always been ready to protect us ; and if her enemies assail her, (and her enemies are emphatically, those of freedom and humanity,) it would be our pride, as well as duty, to assist her ; though thank God, her power is mighty enough to dispense with any aid, beyond that of her own invincible Isle. But in point of fact, to touch this " battle field " argument, according to your low capacity. If we except the glorious and enviable death of many of our gallant militiamen, Canada was in every point of view a gainer by the last war—her population suddenly doubled ; the country was filled with money and business ; and most of the best fortunes in the province, trace their origin or chief growth to that period—a fact, which might be illustrated in the persons of some of the signers even of your address—and very likely the hope of another war, forms the moving cause with many of your base and cold-blooded traders, who would be willing to see a man slain, for every shilling that drops into their tills.

And now, O, ye hypocrites of peace ! and apostates from God and your country ! who recommend measures to allay party animosity and bring tranquility into our borders, the very mention of which, has caused more angry feelings, in the community, than all that party hatred ever inspired. How dare you utter the sacred name of peace, while you are wittingly laying a train the explosion of which, may bury our Province in ruins ? I tell you—and it is no mere flourish of rhetoric—that your manifesto has awakened feelings in the bosom of Canada, which have lain dormant since the American revolution—the hereditary bitterness of U. E. loyalty is surging up like a volcano—and the old tomahawk of the refugees, which has been preserved in our families, along with the fire-side traditions of Oriskany and Wyoming, is taken from its hiding place—and augurs too truly, the desperate character of the struggle you are provoking ; and the unparalleled sacrifices that will be made to preserve the unity of the empire ; but I turn with pain from the reflection.

Do not deceive yourselves—there is no such thing, within the reach of possibility, as "*peaceable* annexation." We, you and all men, know that the term is but a hypocritical synonym for civil war—and one which perhaps may involve the world in its

conflagration. But such a calamity would not remain unvisited upon the heads of its authors—when all was over—when the empire should have emerged from the struggle, like a phoenix from its ashes, purified and more glorious than ever; you in your premature graves, spit and trampled upon, would sink 'neath the overwhelming curses of wives, mothers and orphans.

But what is the naked reality of your strength when the question comes to the *ultima ratio*? For I tell you, you must either stay this agitation, or you will be compelled to put it to the issue of life and death; I ask, what are the means at your command to finish your work? We know your weakness as well as your wickedness. Your very citadel—Montreal itself is divided against you—your party in the Eastern townships will be hamstrung at home by the faithful and true men along the borders—Western Canada is almost wholly opposed to you—and lastly the power of England is able to crush you to atoms, were every man in Lower Canada an annexationist. But you hope to win the sympathy of the French population—and are already intriguing with the great coward of St. Denis, and boasting of your alliance with the excommunicated infidels of the *Avenir*; and the red socialists of the school of Ledru Rollin, and Louis Blanc,—and who are they? an infinitely small section of Canadians, loathed and execrated by their countrymen, as much as you are by your British compatriots. While the really brave and influential leaders of the *habitans*; Nelson, Lafontaine, Tache and Marchesseau, are in the ranks of your opponents. Do you, the “old Scotch faction” of Montreal, expect to conciliate and dupe to your purposes, those whom you have ever abused, with the most arrogant contempt, oppression and injustice? your error on this point will soon be set right, and little to your satisfaction. But you will stir up the United States, reopen the hunter's lodges, and summon to your aid the brutal assassins of Hume, Usher, and Vosburg. No doubt your agents are already at work—but remember, we will hold you as hostages, to answer for the bloodhounds you may summon to our frontiers—while with respect to *them*, in the language of a brave though perhaps erring governor, we will say—“let them come if they dare”—and they shall be treated *accordingly*.

Again, consider your position with regard to the Administration. Hitherto, the influence of party connections, and the force of party feeling, has made your cause, and the cause of the Upper Canada conservatives, as one. They have palliated your seditious spirit, and excused your outrages. Those ties are now broken—and you stand alone, a miserable fraction, repudiated by all good men of whatever party—and instead of either supporting you,

you will discover, that both Tories and Reformers, will zealously assist the Government in your chastisement. The reflux of the tide, is already rolling on you, which will sweep you, and your conspiracies, into the abyss of destruction—but you see it not—you heed it not—blind, deaf and deluded—like all conspirators in all ages ; you imagine the people at large partake of your opinions, and approve your designs ; at the very moment, they are cursing you as the worst enemies of themselves and the country. But you will not suffer yourselves to be undeceived, till too late ; your mania is incurable ; you are mostly Scotchmen, and will understand me, when I tell you, you are *fey* ; a change so violent and sudden, as you have undergone, cannot but prognosticate your speedy destruction. as you rush blind-mad upon the fate predestined for you.

BRITANNICUS.

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